



**End Violence Against Women Coalition FINAL
Submission to the Leveson Inquiry,
January 2012**

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Introduction

The scale of violence against women and girls (VAWG) in the UK and public attitudes towards it

**the statistics below are taken from A Different World is Possible, published by the EVAW Coalition in 2011 and available on our website; full references for each of these are in that report*

Many research studies continue to find alarming and persistently high levels of VAWG in the UK:

Almost one in three girls have experienced unwanted sexual touching at school (EVAW Coalition, 2010).

Every year one million women experience at least one incident of domestic violence – nearly 20,000 women a week (Home Office, 2009).

3.7 million women in England and Wales have been sexually assaulted at some point since the age of 16 (Home Office, 2009).

In 2009 the Forced Marriage Unit received over 1600 calls to its helpline on suspected/potential forced marriage, 86 per cent of who were women (FCO website, accessed 2011).

It is estimated that of 17,000 migrant women involved in off-street prostitution in England and Wales, 2,600 have been trafficked and 9,200 are vulnerable migrants who may be further victims of trafficking (ACPO, 2010).

20 per cent of women say they have experienced stalking at some point since the age of 16 (Home Office, 2009).

An estimated 66,000 women in England and Wales in 2001 had been subject to female genital mutilation (Forward, 2007).

Violence against women and girls cannot be prevented unless the attitudes that excuse and normalise violence are changed. These include:

36 per cent of people believe that a woman should be held wholly or partly responsible for being sexually assaulted or raped if she was drunk, and 26 per cent if she was in public wearing sexy or revealing clothes (Home Office, 2009).

One in five people think it would be acceptable in certain circumstances for a man to hit or slap his female partner in response to her being dressed in sexy or revealing clothing in public (Home Office, 2009).

Almost half (43 per cent) of teenage girls believe that it is acceptable for a

boyfriend to be aggressive towards his partner (NSPCC, 2005).

1 in 2 boys and 1 in 3 girls believe that there are some circumstances when it is okay to hit a woman or force her to have sex (Zero Tolerance, 1998).

About the End Violence Against Women Coalition

The End Violence Against Women Coalition is a UK-wide coalition of more than 40 organisations and individuals which campaigns for government at every level in the UK to take a more strategic, integrated and properly resourced approach to ending and preventing violence against women and girls in all its forms. Our members include well known national organisations like Rape Crisis, Refuge, Object, Imkaan, Women's Aid and the WI; grassroots service providers such as refuges and specialist BME women's services; and others including Amnesty International and the TUC. Our members' areas of expertise include rape and sexual violence, forced marriage, FGM, trafficking, sexual harassment, domestic violence and other forms of violence against women and girls (VAWG).

Our authoritative and evidence-based approach has shifted policy from a siloed and fractured approach to a more strategic coordinated approach in Westminster, Wales, London and in several local areas. In 2009 the first Westminster VAWG strategy was published, replaced by the current *Call to End Violence Against Women and Girls* published by the Coalition Government in November 2010. It can be read here: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime/violence-against-women-girls/strategic-vision/>. The strategy has the prevention of VAWG as one of its priority objectives, an approach we have long been calling for and recently published a report calling for action, including in relation to the media, to take a long term and targeted approach to preventing VAWG, *A Different World is Possible*. This was developed with our network of academics, frontline service providers and others with expertise on preventing VAWG. We advise the Government through our attendance at VAWG Inter-Ministerial Groups on VAWG, chaired by the Home Secretary, and stakeholder groups in both the Home Office and Department for Education.

Why the End Violence Against Women Coalition is making this submission

The growing evidence about the media and sexualisation as a conducive context in which VAWG flourishes makes this a critical issue for the Leveson Inquiry. Dr Linda Papadopolous' 'The Sexualisation of Young People Review' (2010) and the Bailey Review of the Commercialisation and Sexualisation of Childhood (2011), independent investigations into the nature and scale of sexualisation commissioned by the former and current governments respectively (see references), have both pointed to considerable evidence of the impact of the media on sexualisation, and the objectification of women and girls. Our Coalition's own research on strategies for preventing violence

against women cites the Hagemann-White model of perpetration which draws on the most up to date evidence about who commits violence against women and girls and why, and finds that the media is a contributing factor (see references). Indeed, the VAWG Inter-Ministerial Group recently met representatives of media regulators and the media and music industry to consider how to tackle this issue. Our Co-Chair Marai Larasi was one of the few stakeholders to attend to provide expert advice.

Our Coalition believes that ending and preventing violence against women and girls must involve challenging and changing many deeply held attitudes which condone and tolerate it. The media in all its forms is a critical creator, reflector and enforcer of these attitudes (see Carter). It is essential that those working within it are conscious of this and that they actively seek not to reproduce such attitudes. Too often this is done through inaccurate reporting (for example of the law on rape), intrusive reporting (on victims and their families), misrepresentation, the narrow, skewed, sensationalist selection of violence against women stories (eg 'victim and attacker met on Facebook'), the language used (can imply the victim somehow provoked her assault), and the supporting 'experts' and quotes reported (might for example say that a particular crime is 'cultural' or religious and therefore is either less serious or somehow inevitable). Such reporting too often amounts to victim blaming, dehumanises women and girls and exoticises violence against some women and girls.

Such reporting on violence against women has both an immediate and a cumulative effect. It says to individual perpetrators that there is some justification for assaults on women. Over time it incrementally and subtly informs the way the whole community perceives certain crimes and whether in fact it is then possible to get justice for them. Rape myths for example – such as that 'real rape' is committed by a stranger with a weapon, and is sometimes 'provoked' by women who are dressed in a certain manner or have had too much to drink – feed everyone's view on who is seen as a 'real' victim, who is a perpetrator, and consequently which cases are prosecuted and achieve a conviction, even which cases are ever reported in the first place.

Coalition members tell us that when the media reports stories in a way which implicitly or explicitly blames women for attacks on them, they receive a spike in calls from new and former service users who are 'retraumatised' by this continuing implication that what happened to them was in some way their fault.

We note the Inquiry's call for submissions from the public which shed light on the way newsrooms operate (1); the training that journalists receive(2); whether the general law which individuals are subject to is adequate for press regulation (3); and the relationship between democracy and a free press (4); and believe we have comment to make which should inform your conclusions.

With regards to (1):

Many of our members' experience of the media involves being called directly and asked for a quote or a case study for interview with a very short deadline, related to a story which is in that day's news. While many women's organisations are enthusiastic about such media work and want to have the opportunity to put across the real experience of survivors of violence and their view on what should be done, journalists' demands are often unreasonable. They commonly ask for case studies who are willing to forego anonymity (with little thought to the consequences of this for some), and who, more sinisterly, fit a certain 'type' which they (or their editor) has calculated will suit their editorial line or their perceived readers' prejudices (victim should be young, should be attractive, should be British, should have no criminal record etc). It is rare for the journalist to ask any question about, or make any provision for, the impact of giving an interview on the victim and any follow up afterwards.

Similarly, when women's organisations are asked for comments or to give interviews about violence against women stories, it is common to find that this is not as open a request as it at first sounds. Journalists have frequently already decided what they want you to say when they call, and if a women's organisation won't give that 'line' then the interview opportunity is withdrawn. This commonly relates to wanting a line which is very simple and does not allow an expert interviewee to give context and explain why such a crime is under-reported for example; or it may involve a broadcaster seeking only someone who will take a clear and perhaps extreme line on an issue and be prepared to argue it live with someone of an opposite view (for example, after the Vincent Tabak conviction in October women's organisations and experts received requests for interviews on pornography where they were prepared to 'debate'; but little opportunity to talk about broader causality around violence against women).

These experiences are no doubt related to newsroom pressures – deadlines, and perhaps an editor who has said they want the story writing a certain way, an unquestioned tendency to frame every issue as a polarity which is best served by 'debate' – but they repeatedly make it difficult for women's organisations working with survivors and other experts in this area to get access to the media and to put across facts and argument which should be heard if we want to understand and prevent further crime.

With regards to (2):

One of our members reports an occasion when a victim of rape had her identity revealed by a local radio station despite victims' anonymity being a clear and established law (see example 2 below). The journalist in question said he was unaware of the law.

We also commonly talk to journalists who have very little idea of the area of law on which they are reporting, or the issue in general, implying that they have little time to do research before making calls for interviews.

With regards to (3):

Members of our Coalition are very reluctant to call for any hard 'press regulation', not least because we have a strong interest in seeing as free,

open, empowered to investigate and expose print and broadcast press. We want greater exposure of the scale and causes of violence against women, and more investigation of the means needed to tackle it.

However our experience has shown that women and girls who have experienced violence and who have become the subject of media attention are often extremely vulnerable and can be retraumatised by the experience. Parts of the media have been extremely irresponsible in the way they have reported for example the rape of girls (see example 3 below) in a way which cynically and viciously encouraged readers to see the victims of a serious gang rape as somehow to blame for what happened.

With regards to (4):

We believe the relationship between democracy and a free press is essential, and as we say above we know that strong, informed, determined reporting on the scale and causes of violence against women will be an essential part of its eradication.

However, we would draw the Inquiry's attention to the consequences of having a completely unfettered but nevertheless commercial and competitive press for those issues and individuals who are the more marginalised in our society. Consequences for our members and their service users include at best being invisible when for example political and legal change are being debated; and at worst being misrepresented, blamed and effectively abused by the 'free' commercial press which sees itself as needing only to appeal to the perceived views and prejudices of its readers – a media form of the tyranny of the majority. We must have protection for vulnerable individuals because otherwise the press are free to commit what amounts to real abuse.

About this submission

The End Violence Against Women Coalition here provides a 'snapshot' submission by asking our members to supply short examples of poor reporting of violence against women stories which were either intrusive, inaccurate, which misrepresented or which were misogynistic, victim-blaming or condoning of VAWG. The examples listed below do not claim to be representative of poor reporting in this area.

We do believe however that if this Inquiry does not address culture, practice, ethics, standards and the public interest with regards to the reporting of violence against women, it will be incomplete.

We are available for further discussion and comment if needed.

10 egregious examples of UK media reporting on violence against women and girls

Explanatory note:

The text of the media articles here referred to is pasted immediately below each example in italicised text for immediate reference. However it is recommended that the reader also follow the links to the online versions of these articles to see more accurately the size of the headlines and subheadlines, the accompanying photos and more. In case the links do not work they are included here as full URLs which can be cut and pasted into a browser.

1. Facebook murder – victim blaming & sensationalism

Media outlet: Daily Telegraph, and others

Date: 1 September 2009

Headline: Man murdered wife 'after she changed Facebook status to single'

Story summary: report from criminal prosecution of man for murder of his partner

Available online at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/facebook/6122306/Man-murdered-wife-after-she-changed-Facebook-status-to-single.html>

Report text:

Man murdered wife 'after she changed Facebook status to single'

A man murdered his girlfriend in a fit of jealousy a week after she changed her Facebook status to single, a court has heard.

Brian Lewis is accused of strangling his partner Hayley Jones to death at the home they shared with their four children.

The defendant fled the scene during the early hours of March 12 of this year and drove to a police station, leaving his kids to find their mother's body in the living room, Cardiff Crown Court heard.

The jury heard cracks began to appear in the couple's relationship due to financial problems after he lost his job.

As a result, the 26-year-old mother found work as a care assistant having previously stayed at home to look after their children.

Prosecutor Mark Evans QC said: "Hayley had at the same time started to expand her social horizons.

"She had began spending a lot of time on the internet chat site Facebook. Brian Lewis was to state in interview and to other people that she had been quite secretive about this.

"For example, preventing him from accessing the site and switching the computer off to prevent him from seeing any of the content.

"It is quite clear from the evidence, you will hear, this rankled with him."

Mr Evans said the relationship between the accused and Ms Jones deteriorated to such an extent that she changed her Facebook status to "single" on March 2 of this year, just over a week before her death.

The prosecutor added: "It is quite clear that Brian Lewis became quite anxious and suspicious of her internet activity."

The jury later heard Brian Lewis told police officers during an interview after his partner had died that he had accepted the breakdown of their relationship and their "only real tension" was over the time she spent on the internet.

*Mr Evans said this attitude contrasted with the evidence from drinkers at the Phillipstown social club on the evening of Sunday March 8, who claimed the defendant said: "If I can't have her, then no f***** else will because I will kill her first.*

"Bearing in mind this Sunday was only a few days before the killing occurred."

Mr Evans added: "We in the prosecution say he was not accepting of the breakdown in the relationship but he was angry about it. This is demonstrated by his comments to friends in the social club days before."

Lewis, 31, of Pritchard Terrace, Phillipstown, New Tredegar, south Wales, denies murder.

Commentary:

It is an inevitable part of news reporting that the press hone in on unusual, startling or 'new' aspects of events.

This domestic violence murder, committed with extreme violence against a woman who had been asleep and whose four children were in the house, was reported not just by this outlet but across the media as a 'Facebook murder' and especially the detail that the murder occurred a few days after victim Hayley Jones changed her profile on the social networking site to say that she was single. When followed with subheaders like the one above, '... murdered his girlfriend in a fit of jealousy...', the reporting contains powerful messages about the victim having provoked her killer with her behaviour, rather than his choice to use violence. The reporter has selected a lot of material from the court proceedings about the victim's "secretive behaviour" and use of the internet. There is less if any editorialising about his premeditated decision to murder her. On average two women a week are murdered by a current or former partner.

2. Revealing rape victim's identity – "I didn't know I shouldn't"

Media outlet: national radio station

Date: early 2011

Headline: n/a

Story summary: high profile rape case

Available online at: n/a

An End Violence Against Women Coalition member was contacted earlier this year by a woman whose name was released on national radio in a high profile rape case. She was a victim of rape and had gone through the criminal justice system. The defendant had been found not guilty and after the verdict was given a national radio station released her name. This caused the victim a significant amount of anguish and turmoil, not least because she lived in a rural area and did not want her community to know what had happened. Whilst she received an apology from the radio station nothing else was done. Under the Sexual Offences Act 2003 victims of rape or serious sexual assault unequivocally have anonymity. The journalist in question stated that he was not aware of this.

3. Gang-rape of young girls – an ‘orgy’

Media outlet: Daily Mail, and others

Date: 17 March 2011

Headline: Six footballers jailed over gang rape of twelve year old girls in midnight park orgy

Story summary: conviction of six men for rape of two girls

Available online at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1367377/Six-footballers-jailed-gang-rape-12-year-old-girls-midnight-park-orgy.html#>

Report text:

Six footballers jailed over gang rape of 12-year-old girls in midnight park orgy

By Daily Mail Reporter

17 March 2011

Six footballers who had a midnight sex orgy in a park with two 12-year-old girls, have been jailed.

Courtney Amos, 19, Ashley Charles, 20, Dennis De Sousa, 18, Jahson Downes, 20, Jahvon Edwards, 19, and Luke Farrugia, 21, have all admitted rape of a girl under the age of 13.

Downes is a former Reading FC academy player, who until recently played for Basingstoke Town, in Hampshire, Luke Farrugia plays for Reading Town and Courtney Amos has also completed two years of football coaching.

Reading Crown Court heard how the soccer players were encouraged by the schoolgirl 'Lolitas' - with one allegedly sending them a text message saying: 'We can have three each.'

Several of the players had been together on the night of the rapes - Saturday February 21 last year.

Judge Stephen John heard that the six players picked up the two girls and drove in two Vauxhall Corsa cars to a recreation ground in Reading, Berkshire, where one of the 12-year-olds was raped by five of the men.

The other girl was more reluctant and was raped by just one player.

The girls told the men they 16 years old and had sneaked away from a party to be with them after exchanging suggestive text messages, it was alleged.

The court heard how after driving to the park with the men, the girls separated and while one appeared to be reluctant to engage in any sexual activity, the other went to the far end of the area and called the defendants over one-by-one to have full sex or perform sex acts on them.

The judge heard that the most active of the two girls, mentioned in five of the six charges, could not have been trusted by the prosecution as a witness.

She was also being investigated over an unrelated false rape allegation and had a fake age on her Facebook page.

When the girls were reported missing by one of their mothers, police found them wandering in the street at 2.20am.

An appeal was launched to find those involved and soon all six had handed themselves in and made full confessions.

They were said to have been shocked and disgusted to learn the true ages of the girls, with one stating: 'I've got a little sister about that age.'

Alan Blake, prosecuting, said one of the girls, who had moved away from Reading with her family, returned for the party, during which her friend was texting 'some boys'.

Police analysis showed she was in touch with Edwards and had been for a number of days.

When Edwards said he was with five friends a message returned from the girl's phone, suggesting: 'We can have three each,' before adding a smiley face icon.

The men arrived in two Vauxhall Corsas and sent a further message.

Mr Blake added: 'The girls split up. One went beside the building and the other went to a children's play area. She said one of the males kept asking her for sex. She was initially reluctant but eventually gave in to his persistence.

'It was her account that there was only one male she had any sexual contact with.

'The witnesses described how the boys went over to the other girl one at a time on the other side of the park, that she was calling them over and they were going one by one.'

Defence lawyers, mitigating for the six defendants, described the case as 'exceptional.'

They highlighted the lies of the young girl who took part in most of the sexual activity and said that if it had not been for their clients' honesty and full descriptions of events, the Crown Prosecution Service would have had no case.

They also said that in the circumstances, if the activities had taken place just four weeks later than they had, when the main girl would have turned 13, none of the defendants would have faced any criminal charges because of the defence provided by her actions.

They added that the careers of the promising young footballers had been ruined by 'the biggest mistake [of their] lives'.

Before retiring to consider sentence Judge John said he had been hopeful but was not surprised that the girls' parents had not attended court.

'The girls still out at 2am at the age of 12, no indication, that I'm aware of, of parents making frantic 999 calls to police,' he said critically.

Judge John sentenced Amos, of Caversham, Berks, Charles, of Coley, Berks., De Sousa, of Tilehurst, Berks., and Edwards, of West Reading, to be detained for two years in a young offenders' institute.

Farrugia, of Barnwood Close, West Reading, was sent to prison for two years.

Commentary:

The news report uses the term 'sex orgy' to describe the multiple perpetrator rape of two 12 year old girls. The reporter later refers to the victims as 'lolitas', implying provocation; and refers to fact that one of the girls reportedly had a fake age on her Facebook page, although the social networking site had nothing to do with the case. We note that young women are particularly at risk of sexual violence and that stereotypes that they are 'provocative' or look older than they are are frequently used by perpetrators in justifying their offences (see Lees re the media reflection of defendant's perspectives).

The journalist later reports indirectly the defence lawyers' remarks at length, concerning the careers of the men being ruined, and their honesty in disclosing what had happened to the court; and goes on to quote the judge's remarks about being disappointed not to see the girls' parents in court. The implication is subtle – after their "mistake" the men have paid a heavy price while the girls perhaps have unsupportive families. There is no equivalent attention to the fact that the crime committed is serious and grievous and the social status of victim and perpetrator does not mitigate it.

Much of the rest of the media's reporting on this case was similarly victim blaming and promoting of common rape myths. Even though the rapists were convicted most reports said they were 'accused' or put commas around the word 'rape' or 'rapists'.

4. My big fat gypsy council house – racism and misogyny in one

Media outlet: The Sun

Date: 7 February 2011

Headline: My big fat gypsy council house

Story summary: irish traveller woman and family are temporarily housed by local authority

Available online at:

<http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/3395748/Family-of-gypsies-get-12m-council-house.html>

Report text:

My big fat gypsy council house

By GARY O'SHEA and HARRY HAYDON

Published: 07 Feb 2011

A FAMILY of gypsies are making wealthy neighbours' lives a misery after being housed by a council in a £1.2million semi — that is a total WRECK.

Tom O'Leary, 42, and wife Tanya Walsh, 39 — who live on benefits with their 12 kids — have spent a year in the five-bed home at Muswell Hill, North London, which they say is owned by Haringey Council.

Locals want them booted out after a string of complaints.

A shocking dossier, compiled by council officials, has now been passed to The Sun — spelling out the misery the family have brought to the neighbourhood.

And when we inspected the house yesterday, we found it had been completely **RUINED**.

Ceilings have collapsed, paint has been stripped off walls and electric sockets are hanging out.

Bicycles are strewn across hallways and mattresses lie on the floors. Children run amok everywhere, riding shiny new bikes around the corridors.

Meanwhile, floors are filthy and the garden has been used as a dumping ground for fire extinguishers, mattresses and rubble.

Wealthy neighbours have now fired off a string of accusations about the family's behaviour.

Twenty-eight were made in council documents, dated February 4 and seen by The Sun.

It is believed they were in addition to previous complaints about anti-social behaviour made by neighbours last year. Residents have claimed that the family:

HURLED beer cans, flower pots and broken glass over fences;

YELLED "rich b*****ds" at affluent homeowners in the street;

DUMPED used toilet roll in neighbours' properties;

Let **DOGS** bark for hours on end and turned the air blue with blazing rows at all times, and **PILED** up a mountain of overflowing rubbish bins in the property's front garden.

The O'Leary family have been housed by Haringey Council in about 20 different homes in the past decade. One burned down. It is believed the couple are secure tenants in their current home, meaning they have it for life, with the option of right to buy — and sell.

But fuming neighbours have launched a campaign to have them booted out of the street and a Neighbourhood Watch group is being formed to keep tabs on them.

Tanya, who lives off benefits with O'Leary, denied all the allegations with a wave of her hand.

Sitting in her living room, which is painted a gaudy shade of pink, she moaned that the council hadn't given the family a better home, accused police of harassing them — and claimed neighbours wanted them out because they were gypsies.

She said: "I've lost count of the times the police have been over.

"I've been accused of neglecting my children, which is a lie. I've had meetings with the Anti-Social Behaviour people at the council.

"I just wish they would find a caravan site for me to move to so I wouldn't have to live beside my neighbours. That would be heaven.

"The council have not given us any furniture and are slow to carry out repairs. They don't have the money to help travellers since David Cameron got into government. The house used to be a hostel, so the kitchen is upstairs and I've got 12 kids walking up and down the stairs with their dinner plates to the front room. Two have had falls."

Standing amid the debris in a downstairs room, she added: "I don't want to show you the upstairs because it's a bit messy right now."

The chain-smoking couple have five boys and seven girls aged between one and 16. Each summer they roam the countryside in a caravan. Tanya said: "That's heaven, though we get moved on a lot."

House prices in Muswell Hill, where residents include Spandau Ballet star Tony Hadley and opera diva Katherine Jenkins, range from £670,000 to £4million.

One neighbour, who asked not to be named, said: "We feel really vulnerable right now. I've called the council to complain of young children unattended and naked in the street, but they seem to do nothing.

"The police could do nothing about a very serious complaint we made, so the neighbours are coming together to have something done."

Another neighbour said: "A house like that one should be worth around £1.2million. But with the state it's in at the moment, it might only be worth £700,000."

The lives of traveller families have been highlighted recently by TV's Big Fat Gypsy Weddings.

In a letter sent to O'Leary and his family last week, an Anti-Social Behaviour Officer warned: "I have continued to receive complaints regarding nuisance coming from your property.

"I will be referring the matter to our legal team for them to advise on what action can be taken."

A Haringey Council spokesman said last night: "We'll look into this situation as a matter of urgency."

In October 2008 we revealed how Afghan single mum Toorpakai Saeidi was lording it in a £1.2million mansion in Ealing, West London.

We told a year later how Somali mum Nasra Warsame, seven of her kids and her pensioner mum got a £1.8million central London pad.

Commentary:

During the television broadcast of popular Channel 4 reality show 'My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding' an Irish Traveller woman was placed in temporary accommodation in Muswell Hill by Haringey Local Authority. The Sun newspaper ran an 'exclusive' report which was extreme in its vilification of the woman, her family and the Irish traveller community, making much of the fact that the woman had 12 children and was pregnant at the time. They photographed the street and house number and interviewed neighbours who said they wanted them removed. The woman and her family were harassed; photographers even took pictures of the woman's children playing in the garden. The article concludes with a reminder of previous Sun reports on other non British women who have received social housing accommodation in the UK.

5. Honour-based violence, forced marriage and FGM – exotic cultural and religious practices

Media outlet: The Daily Mail,

Date: 20 July 2007..

Headline: Two hour rape and torture of honour killing girl murdered by family

Story summary: court report of honour-based murder of girl by her family

Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-469553/Two-hour-rape-torture-honour-killing-girl-murdered-family.html>

Report text:

Two-hour rape and torture of honour killing girl murdered by her family

Last updated at 13:01 20 July 2007

The father and uncle of honour killing victim Banaz Mahmood were jailed for life today for her murder.

Mahmood Mahmood, 54, was told he will have to serve a minimum of 20 years while his brother Ari, 51, will have to serve at least 23 years.

Horrific details were revealed yesterday of the last hours of the young Kurdish woman murdered by her family for falling in love with the wrong man.

Banaz Mahmood, 20, was brutally raped and stamped on during a two-hour ordeal before being garotted.

One of her killers, the Old Bailey was told, was 30-year-old Mohamad Hama, who had been recruited by Banaz's father Mahmood Mahmood, 52, and his brother Ari, 51.

Both were found guilty of murder last month.

The shocking details of the killing came to light when Hama was secretly recorded talking to a friend in prison.

*He admitted "slapping" and "f***ing" Banaz, who was subjected to degrading sex acts.*

Hama and his friend were heard laughing as he described how she was killed in her family home in Mitcham, South London, with Ari Mahmood "supervising".

The murderers - two other suspects have fled to Iraq - had been told Banaz would be on her own.

Hama is recorded as saying: "Ari (the uncle) said there is no one there. There was someone there, Biza (her sister). The bastard lied to us."

He said of the murder: "I swear to God it took him more than two hours. Her soul and her life would not leave."

Banaz was garotted for five minutes, said Hama, but it took another half an hour for her to die.

Hama said: "The wire was thick and the soul would not just leave like that."

"We could not remove it. All in all it took five minutes (to strangle) her."

"I was kicking and stamping on her neck to get the soul out. I saw her stark naked, without wearing pants or underwear."

Banaz's body was packed into a suitcase and buried in a garden in Birmingham, where it was found three months later.

The trial of the two brothers heard that Banaz was killed because she had walked out of an unhappy arranged marriage - which she was forced into at just 17 - and fallen in love with Iranian Kurd Rahmat Suleimani, 28.

The pair had been secretly seeing each other, but her family were furious when they found out because Mr Suleimani was not "immediate family" or a strict Muslim.

Terrified, Banaz wrote to police naming people she said were planning to kill her.

Hama was on the list, the court heard. Two other men named by Banaz have fled the country.

Transcripts of the prison recording were read out at a pre-sentence hearing for Hama, of South Norwood, South London, who pleaded guilty to murdering Banaz at an earlier hearing.

Judge Brian Barker, the Common Serjeant of London, sat to assess the extent of Hama's involvement.

Victor Temple QC, prosecuting, told the court that Hama, who sat impassively in the dock, took a "leading part" in raping and killing Banaz in January last year then dumping her body.

He was said to have been recorded expressing concern because his fingerprints and DNA were on her body.

He was also concerned that a leaking pipe at the house where she was buried was sending water through the suitcase, possibly uncovering it.

During another taped conversation, Hama joked about Banaz's hair and elbow sticking out of the suitcase and how a police patrol drove past while he was helping to drag it to a car.

He said: "The road was crowded. The police came past. People were passing by - and we were dragging the bag."

"I almost ran away. Mr Ari (was dragging it) and we were around by each side of him."

"You know what it was, sticking out, her elbow, her hair was falling out so much. That was a stupid thing, a silly thing."

Defence barrister Malcolm Swift QC claimed Hama became involved only after Banaz's body had been put in the suitcase.

He told the court there was no direct evidence that Hama was present at the time of the murder - he took part in the planning but "had realised the error of becoming directly involved in the killing".

Hama's car was outside his home throughout the morning of the killing and his mobile phone could not be linked to the murder scene.

Mr Swift said Hama got his information on the killing from others, including Ari Mahmod.

Commentary:

It is common for particular crimes committed against some ethnic minority women to be reported unquestioningly as due entirely to their culture and/or religion. In many notable cases, such as that of Banaz Mahmod, the media has reported in gratuitous detail the way that women and girls have been murdered by their families. Several newspapers followed every detail of Banaz' extremely violent murder, referring constantly and uncritically to her murder as a cultural and religiously-based crime. Forced marriage is reported in a similar way.

The harmful practice of FGM (female genital mutilation, sometimes referred to as 'female circumcision') is perhaps a subject which receives less media attention despite its alarmingly high prevalence in the UK and the thousands of girls here who are at risk of having it done to them. When it is reported it tends to be through the lens of a high profile celebrity campaigner, such as in the Coventry Telegraph report above. Like honour-based violence it is referred to as being based entirely on culture and religion.

Media reports failed to provide context about the law on these crimes, the context in which they occur, and the fact that many people in those communities, men and women, are opposed to such harmful practices. They have not reported on the commonalities between these crimes and other crimes of hate against women which happen in all communities. The reporting overall tends to reinforce prejudice about ethnic minority communities and especially about Islam. By citing culture and religion as causative it also makes excuses for crimes which are violent and premeditated, and which fall under the usual criminal law of UK.

6. Editorialising about 'harmful practices' – why do they do that to their daughters?

Media outlet: The Daily Mail, The Sun, The Daily Telegraph and others

Date: various

Headline (example): Honour crime up by 40% due to rising fundamentalism

Story summary: crime figures used to make an argument about violence against women being caused by increasing fundamentalism

Available online at:

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1233918/Honour-crime-40-rising-fundamentalism.html>

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/6655561/Honour-based-violence-is-biggest-problem-facing-women.html>

Report text:

Honour crime up by 40% due to rising fundamentalism

By REBECCA CAMBER

Last updated at 6:08 PM on 7th December 2009

Police have seen 'honour' crime surge by 40 per cent due to rising fundamentalism, new figures show.

Honour-based violence, including crimes like murder, rape and kidnap has rocketed in London during the past year.

Reported instances of intimidation and attempts at forced marriage have also increased by 60 per cent.

A report into the scale of the problem by Scotland Yard found there were 161 honour-based incidents recorded in 2007-8, of which 93 were criminal offences.

But in 2008/9 the number of incidents had risen to 256, with 132 being criminal offences.

The latest figures indicate that the trend is continuing, with 211 incidents reported in the last six months until October, of which 129 were offences - more than double the number in the same period last year.

Police define honour crimes as offences motivated by a desire to protect the honour of a family or community.

Diana Nammi, of the Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation, said the group is now dealing with four times more complaints relating to honour than two years ago.

She said: 'More women are coming forward. They are becoming more aware of their rights in the UK, that there is help available and they feel confident enough to report matters to the police.'

'But I also think cases and violence are increasing.'

'One reason is the rise in fundamentalism. The problem is increasing in communities around the UK.'

'We are seeing a rise not only in honour killings, but also in female genital mutilation and polygamy.'

She added: 'The rise in Sharia courts is another indication of more fundamental beliefs.'

'There must be more support from the Government to organisations who are working to combat this problem.'

The Metropolitan Police also records incidents where no offences has been committed, such as complaints by women that they are under pressure to enter into forced marriages.

Recently there have been a series of horrific attacks linked to 'honour'.

Police are still investigating the death of 28-year-old Geeta Aulakh

Detectives are still investigating the death of mother-of-two Geeta Aulakh, 28, who was hacked to death with a sword in Greenford, north west London last month.

An 18-year-old student has been charged with her murder.

In July, a 24-year-old Asian man from Denmark lost part of his tongue and was left blind in one eye when he had acid thrown in his face in Leytonstone.

Police believe he was attacked over his relationship with a married Muslim woman.

Two men are awaiting trial over the assault.

Campaigners believe honour attacks are on the up due to rising fundamentalism in communities around Britain.

Up to 12 people are murdered every year in the name of honour, and police fear a further 500 people are forced into an arranged marriage or attacked.

One of the most high-profile cases was that of Banaz Mahmood who was murdered by members of her own family after falling in love with a man they disapproved of.

The 20-year-old, who had left an arranged marriage and started a relationship with Rhamat Sulemani, 29, was strangled with a bootlace at her home in Surrey in January 2006.

Her father Mahmud Mahmud, 52, and uncle Ari Mahmud, 50, of Mitcham, were later convicted of the killing after the pair decided she must pay 'the ultimate price' for bringing shame on them.

Earlier this year, police were issued with new guidance telling them to assume honour crimes have been committed in more circumstances.

Senior officers anticipated that the move would drive up figures as in many cases only limited information is available or a potential victim refuses to help police.

Detective Chief Inspector Gerry Campbell, of the Metropolitan Police, said: 'The description of this type of crime is misplaced. There is no honour in these crimes.'

Mr Campbell said the Met had improved its intelligence systems to better identify such crimes. He said: 'Ten years ago our knowledge was almost absent but we have worked hard and our knowledge has improved substantially.'

Commentary:

In addition to reporting of news stories about these crimes which tends towards exoticising them and attributing them mostly to culture or religion, from time to time there is additional editorialising around these stories which creates a false impression of where and to whom these crimes happen, and why. A good example of this is the use of crime figures in late 2009 by several media outlets to say that a rise in (reported) honour-based violence and murders was due to a rise in so-called fundamentalism. There is no proven link between these two separate phenomena. Media reports failed to emphasise that in the past there has been serious under reporting of these crimes.

7. Happy Hookers – reporting on prostitution

Media outlet: many, including Daily Express, Daily Mail, The Sun, BBC website

Date: many

Headline: 'hooked on hookers', 'hooker orgy'

Story summary: see examples below

Commentary:

We have serious concerns about the way stories related to prostitution are reported in the British media.

They are commonly accompanied by photos of half-dressed women leaning into cars (see Express and BBC news website), which (1) tends to represent all prostitution as street prostitution and (2) focuses on the women as to the less visible punters. It appeals to stereotypes about women working in prostitution, which tend to be backed up by the reporting.

The language and tone used when reporting these stories is also concerning. The tabloids especially tend to use terms like "hookers" and "vice girls", and frequently imply that all or most of the women working in prostitution choose it and are happy doing it; there is rarely any proper context given as regards the neglect and abuse that leads many women into prostitution, the coercion that keeps them there, the harm they face and the constant breaching of their

rights. Such reporting is at a minimum irresponsible and makes it more difficult for real women in prostitution to have a voice and for women's organisations to argue for support services and changes in the law. It feeds into myths about prostitution, which at worse lead to attitudes that tolerate violence against women in prostitution or regard it as inevitable.

Examples:

The Sun, 29 October 2011

Header: Vincent Tabak: Hooked on hookers; Subheaders: Vice secrets of Jo Yeates murderer; LA romp 2 weeks before attack

Full text at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/3901704/Vincent-Tabak-brHooked-on-hookers.html>

The Sun, 14 Sept 2011

Headline: Gaddafi son binged on drugs and hookers'

Full text at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/3812680/Gaddafi-son-binged-on-drugs-and-hookers.html>

The Sun, 20 May 2011

Headline: Firm laid hookers orgy for staff

Full text at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/3591736/Firm-laid-hookers-orgy-for-staff.html>

Commentary:

In addition to this style of reporting on individual stories and court cases involving prostitution, a large part of the media uses every opportunity to misrepresent the facts and to argue for legalisation of prostitution, a position that is put without context and sound supporting argument, and which there is not established public support for.

For example in October this year several newspapers reported that serving senior policeman Simon Byrne, Deputy Chief Constable of Greater Manchester Police, called for the legalisation of prostitution. He specifically did not do this. He actually said that the police need to look at alternative ways of dealing with the problem, and he mentioned decriminalisation (which is different from legalisation) and the regulating of brothels. It is surely part of the role of the media to give context and to explain the difference between policies like legalisation and decriminalisation, and not to be sloppy in the reporting of such debates, especially one which is so polarised.

The Daily Express used the story as an opportunity to run a piece entitled 'should prostitution be legalised', which is very one-sided, quoting only pro-legalisation opinion and international examples.

Full text:

<http://www.express.co.uk/posts/view/281874/Should-prostitution-be-legalised>

Report text:

SHOULD PROSTITUTION BE LEGALISED?

Saturday November 5, 2011

THERE are few clues as to what happens inside Stiletto, billed euphemistically as “the world’s finest short-stay boutique hotel”. It looks like any upmarket retreat but is the latest, most stylish flagship for the legalised sex industry in Sydney, Australia.

Inside this high-class brothel, which cost more than £7million to create, there are Dali-inspired red lips sofas, commissioned artwork, stylists on hand to primp and fuss over the sex workers, who are legally entitled to run their businesses there, as well as a gym, solarium and spa in which they can pamper themselves between clients.

Water runs gently down a huge curved wall in the lobby while the 12 opulently furnished and themed rooms have spa baths, music and mood lighting. Significantly there are no windows or clocks.

Stiletto has been described as a spectacular, purpose-built, multimillion-dollar adult playground that caters for virtually every legal whim. But it is a place that has significant implications for the debate around the legitimisation of sex as an entertainment option in the UK. Not least because if Britain’s most senior police officer dealing with prostitution law gets his way legalised brothels like this may soon be springing up in cities here.

According to Simon Byrne, who leads the policing of prostitution for the Association of Chief Police Officers (Acpo), decriminalising brothels in the UK could solve many of the problems linked to prostitution. “There is a great amount of academic research available, much of which supports the view that an alternative approach is needed,” says Byrne, who is Deputy Chief Constable of Greater Manchester Police but who will shortly start work as Metropolitan Police Assistant Commissioner.

While conceding that the decriminalisation and regulation of brothels in Australia and New Zealand is not an answer to all issues he says it is “certainly a solution to some”.

“More of those involved in sex work in Australia and New Zealand can now access health services with ease while maintaining more personal security.”

Cari Mitchell, a spokeswoman for the English Collective of Prostitutes, a network of women working in the sex industry, welcomes Byrne’s comments. “As he has recognised, policing is not the way to deal with women having to work in the sex industry but it is a tragedy that it has taken the deaths of so many sex workers for this conclusion to be reached.

“Most sex workers are single mothers and many go into prostitution because of poverty, domestic violence, homelessness and debt. Women can leave sex work if they want but what prevents them is a criminal record. A conviction prohibits them from getting an alternative job, especially if they want to work with children.”

In the UK selling sex is not illegal – the law allows only one person to sell sex in a property – but brothels and street prostitution are against the law. “It means that the people who are there to protect you can also arrest you so sex workers can be reluctant to go to the police,” says Rosie Campbell of the UK Network of Sex Work Projects.

So is decriminalisation a good idea? The intention is to make this sordid trade safer for the sex worker but international experiments have not always been successful.

“New Zealand is the only country that has decriminalised prostitution successfully,” says Mitchell, a mother and grandmother as well as a state-registered nurse. “There has been no increase in prostitution, the women feel safer and they can report violent attacks without fear of arrest. We have an opportunity to take a serious look at what they did in New Zealand.”

There the Prostitution Reform Act of 2003 allows up to four people to work together from premises where each of those sex workers retains control over his or her earnings. Where more than four people work it defines the manager as an “operator” with a requirement to apply for a licence from the local authority and a legal duty to ensure that safe sex is promoted.

The website for the BonTon brothel in Wellington, New Zealand, invites customers to enter a "safe and secret oasis where the outside world melts away". Credit cards are welcome but customers who are intoxicated or won't practise safe sex are not.

The American state of Nevada has also liberalised its prostitution laws – panic buttons are available in every room in the state's licensed brothels and prices are negotiated with management listening over an intercom – and in 2010 Canada's adult prostitution laws were declared unconstitutional after politicians considered evidence from New Zealand. Germany and the Netherlands have also taken steps to license prostitution.

"New Zealand has been such a success because it removes prostitution from the criminal law, allows people to work together collectively and distinguishes between violence and consenting sex," says Mitchell. It has been shown to improve working conditions while making it easier for those who want to get out of the industry to do so.

Here the Home Office has had a long and difficult debate over the past four years on prostitution laws. In 2004 it floated a number of radical solutions including creating "managed areas", regulating off-street prostitution and licensing brothels. But all of these were discounted in 2006 after ministers decided to target those who were causing the harm and attempt to do more to get people out of the sex trade.

"The UK laws make prostitutes vulnerable," says Mitchell. "Women can be busted for setting up with another woman, meaning they are forced to work alone or on the streets. These methods are known to be 10 times more dangerous."

But in a highly controversial move her organisation is calling for all British criminal records for prostitution offences that do not include "force or coercion" to be expunged, freeing female sex workers to make more positive choices.

It all sounds good in theory but decriminalisation is not always as successful as the textbook suggestions would imply.

In Sweden in 1999 it became a criminal offence to buy sex, although sex workers cannot be prosecuted for offering it. But criminalising clients has proved damaging to the female sex workers the legislation was intended to protect. "It has meant women have been driven - further underground," says Mitchell.

"Sweden has not made it safer for sex workers because women need to engage a third party, a pimp, to contact clients."

According to Mitchell, neither has the legalisation of prostitution in some states of Australia been a success. "There were too many regulations," she says. Brothels are legal but must be licensed by state governments. There have also been a number of disasters.

In August last year a fire at a brothel in South Melbourne that was initially thought to have been started by a defective fan heater turned more suspicious when there were allegations of a turf war between proprietors of the city's legalised brothels. A year later, following an investigation, the fire has revealed the poor performance of the regulatory agencies in the city's state of Victoria. It was discovered that brothels are being permitted to renew licences despite an accumulation of police intelligence which involves evidence of sex slavery, a killing and other suspected fire bombings.

An investigation by a local newspaper revealed a string of licensed brothels that have repeatedly drawn attention from police and have yet to face any action by regulators. Raids have found plenty of sex trafficking victims working in legalised establishments and illegal brothel syndicates are said to be flourishing.

Before last year's state election in Victoria the opposition spoke out against legalisation. "It was intended to drive out criminal elements associated with the industry. Clearly this has not occurred. Sex slavery and other human rights violations have occurred," said a campaigner.

Organised crime has also been a problem. Sources in New South Wales acknowledge that policing of organised crime in the legal brothel sector is often woeful. Hardly a model we would wish to aspire to.

Regarding trafficking and sexual exploitation, the media again frequently sensationalises and misrepresents this issue. An example is the Daily Mail's 13 November 2009 report below. It is a very one-sided examination of the issue; it quotes only from pro-prostitution opinion. This 'special investigation' is based on an a particular organisation questioning government figures on prostitution and trafficking; the newspaper has turned this into a story questioning the very existence of trafficking (which no serious expert does).
<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1227418/SPECIAL-INVESTIGATION-The-myth-Britains-foreign-sex-slaves.html>

8. Reporting 'science' and violence against women

Media outlet: Daily Telegraph and others

Date: 2009

Headline: 'women who dress provocatively more likely to be raped'

Story summary: misrepresentation of unpublished academic research on rape

Available online at: removed from Telegraph website but see

<http://www.badsience.net/2009/07/asking-for-it/>

There is great concern among our Coalition members and others about many media outlet's reporting of science stories which relate to violence against women, especially sexual violence. Headlines are written which give a shocking message, usually about the kind of woman who is likely to be raped. It is often discovered on further investigation that such reporting is not a proper representation of the quoted research.

A now notorious example of this is the Telegraph's report in 2009 that 'women who dress provocatively more likely to be raped'. The newspaper has since removed this article from its website, but there is a discussion of what happened including links here:

<http://www.badsience.net/2009/07/asking-for-it/>

Commentary:

The Telegraph used an unpublished, and unfinished, MSC dissertation, without checking fully with the author, to make the claim in the headline, when the research had actually shown that promiscuous men are more likely to commit rape. The journalist (and editor?) can only have deliberately contrived to represent this research in this way – ie in a way which reinforced a classic rape myth about women provoking rape by the way they dress.

This story is not alone in recent times. There were the sensationalist and in places misrepresentative media reports saying that ovulating women were more likely to be raped (eg The Sunday Times). There are constant similar over-simplifications and misrepresentations of other scientific research to run headlines like 'women who work are bad mothers'; 'women really do love pink'; 'shopping is good for women's health'.

These all support a certain agenda about what the role of women should be, and while many in themselves are trivial, in total they add up to a constant barrage of messages to men and women, boys and girls, about the lives they should lead which are based on sexist ideas and inequality. They make it more difficult to challenge violence against women.

9. On the behaviour of some journalists and photographers – sexual harassment and stalking by another name

We refer to evidence that has already been given to the Leveson Inquiry by Sienna Miller and Charlotte Church. We are appalled to be reminded of the harassment that some high profile people are subjected to by the press. Many women already make calculations about where it is and is not safe for them to be and to travel to, personal safety calculations that men simply do not have to make. It is totally unacceptable for some women to face this extra harassment on a regular basis and with apparent impunity. It cannot simply be looked at as a cost of a free press. It amounts to the constant objectification, sexualisation and commercialization of these women – something the government recently investigated and is looking at regulating with regards to children (see the government's 'Bailey Review' on the sexualisation and commercialization of childhood in References).

10. 'Comic book reporting' of violence against women

Media outlet: The Sunday Sport and other tabloids

Date: various

Headline: 'Party girls thumped for having lesbo sex', 'Threesome drives fella TV bonkers'

Story summary: Sunday Sport reports on serious assaults against women

Available online at: we can supply scanned photos of the Sunday Sport coverage on request

The Sunday Sport deserves special attention for the way it commonly reports many violence against women stories in a trivialising way, which can tend toward the condoning of such violence. For example, in the last month alone, it has reported on a 'lesbian romp' which lead to a man assaulting his partner and her friend; and a 'threesome' which lead to a man beating his partner.

Conclusion

As set out at the beginning, this short report aims only to be a snapshot of the way some of the media reports on violence against women in the UK.

The key argument we wish to make to the Inquiry is that reporting on violence against women which misrepresents crimes, which is intrusive, which sensationalises and which uncritically blames 'culture', is not simply uninformed, trivial or in bad taste. It has real and lasting impact - it reinforces attitudes which blame women and girls for the violence which is done to them, and it allows some perpetrators to believe they will get away with committing violence. Because such news reporting are critical to establishing what behaviour is acceptable and what is regarded as 'real' crime, in the long term and cumulatively, this reporting affects what is perceived as crime, which victims come forward, how some perpetrators behave, and ultimately who is and is not convicted of crime.

Although the same media outlets are quoted several times here, because they are more commonly to be found among those who trivialise, misrepresent and victim blame, we believe that they are part of a continuum in the UK press which consistently reports badly on these issues. Broadcasters are of course governed by different rules regarding impartiality and are broadly not as sensationalist as parts of the printed press when it comes to reporting these crimes. But we believe they do still end up reflecting, uncritically, some of the victim-blaming and violence – condoning attitudes which are set by the newspapers.

Our conclusions, questions and recommendations to the Leveson Inquiry

We believe the current behaviour of some parts of the press, and the legal regime which governs it, are unsustainable in a society which is aiming to end and prevent violence against women.

We wish to conclude with the following broad recommendations:

- i. All journalists should receive mandatory training on (a) the law on the reporting of violence against women, including the absolute and clear rule that victims of alleged rape have anonymity; and (b) the scale, nature and causes of violence against women in Britain, with some emphasis on common myths about the subject and the phenomenon of victim blaming and its consequences
- ii. There should be clear sanctions for journalists who break the law, giving a strong deterrent effect

- iii. We would like to see editors be more willing to remove editorial which blames victims for crimes committed against them or which promotes common myths about violence against women (on rape and domestic violence for example)
- iv. We urgently need a public discussion about the way The Sun and The Star report on violence against women alongside the daily publishing of pornography.
- v. Our members want to see a regulatory system that has the teeth to address the issues we have raised. To date many women's organisations have not been confident that the PCC is able to protect their interests and as such have largely stopped trying to use it.

References and Further Reading

A Different World is Possible: A Call for Long-Term and Targeted Action to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls
End Violence Against Women Coalition, 2011
http://www.endviolenceagainstwomen.org.uk/data/files/a_different_world_is_possible_report_email_version.pdf
includes the Hagemann-White model of perpetration (from p17)

Call to End Violence Against Women and Girls, 2011
(the government's national strategy on ending VAWG)
available at:
<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/crime/call-end-violence-women-girls/>

Dr Linda Papadopolous, Sexulaisation of Young People Review, 2010
<http://www.rapecrisisscotland.org.uk/workspace/publications/SexualisationOfYoungPeople.pdf>

Bailey review of the Commercialisation and Sexualisation of Childhood, 2011
<https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/standard/publicationDetail/Page1/CM%208078>

Just Representation: Press Reporting and the Reality of Rape, 2008
Eaves Housing for Women
http://www.eaves4women.co.uk/Documents/Recent_Reports/Just%20Representation_press_reporting_the_reality_of_rape.pdf

Handle with Care: A Guide to Responsible Media Reporting of Violence Against Women
Zero Tolerance
[http://www.zerotolerance.org.uk/sites/all/files/files/HWC_V5\(1\).pdf](http://www.zerotolerance.org.uk/sites/all/files/files/HWC_V5(1).pdf)

"When the 'extraordinary' becomes 'ordinary': Everyday news of sexual violence" by Cynthia Carter in *News, Gender and Power* 2002

'Media Reporting of Rape: The 1993 British 'Date Rape' Controversy' by Sue Lees in, Kidd-Hewitt and Osborne (eds.) *Crime and the Media: The Post-modern Spectacle* 1995